

PEACE NEWS

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Woe to the vanquished!

by F. A. LEA

SEATED in "The Red Lion" the other day, listening to the various war criminals being, so to speak, summoned before the bar. I was more than usually stimulated by the pronouncements of one old gentleman, evidently a figure of some authority in these parts. This experienced elder was filled with apprehension and dismay by the prospect, hardly to be avoided as he said, of our rulers "imposing a just peace on Germany."

Never, I must confess, having been seriously troubled by this apprehension myself, I endeavoured to elucidate his meaning. It was, he explained, altogether too likely—especially in view of Mr. Churchill's recent appraisal of General Franco ("when I heard that, I tell you, I was dumbfounded")—that the Hitler Gang should suffer no worse fate than the Kaiser's.

MY friend, it seems, is no isolated case. The "hang the Kaiser" mentality, officially encouraged, is well in the ascendant. And it has a very fair show of justice on its side. Why should the ring-leaders always escape, when so many, comparatively innocent followers, have suffered torture and death for their misdeeds? I do not suppose many pacifists, however deep their opposition to capital punishment may be, would greatly regret the removal, official or unofficial, of Herr Hitler.

Nevertheless, this demand is both morally and politically indefensible, and should be combatted with all our might.

It is morally indefensible, because where judge, prosecutor and victim are one and the same, and the verdict a foregone conclusion, there is no possibility of the criminal receiving a fair trial.

It is politically indefensible and retrograde, because, rather than expose themselves or their leaders to such a mockery of justice, the enemy will fight to the last ditch. Is the death of one guilty man really worth the deaths of a hundred thousand innocent?

THE Riom war-guilt trials were shady enough. The liquidation of the Gestapo by the OGPU at Kharkov was horrifying; and it would, no doubt, have been enacted repeatedly had the German threat of reprisals on Allied airmen (guilty of roasting alive the civilian population of Hamburg and a few other cities) not brought about—not, indeed, a cessation, but a postponement: until such time as the enemy is defenceless.

It is this that sets the seal of infamy on these proceedings: that the one and only criterion in practice of who is a "war criminal" and who is not, is who is defeated and who wins. The "war criminals" will be found on one side only—the side that loses. And that will be the reason, and the only reason, why Herr Von Ribbentrop swings on a gibbet while Earl Fawcett takes a seat in the Lords. *Vae Victis!*

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS FUND

IT is not proposed that the donations given to the Headquarters Fund through Peace News should be regarded as part of a special effort to commemorate the work of Maurice Rowntree; the National Council will in due course consider the best way of doing this.

But we do hope that contributors will bear in mind Maurice's close identification with this appeal, and will give their ordinary support with extraordinary generosity.

WILL FREEDOM FOLLOW THE ARMIES?

THE magnitude and suddenness of the German defeat in France is impressive indeed. The Blitzkrieg has turned upon its inventors. In the Americans—with their veritable passion for speed, mechanism, and organization—it appears to have found its ideal exponents.

Even the soberest commentators seriously doubt whether Germany will be capable of manning the Siegfried Line, still less holding it. The one restraining consideration appears to be the length of the American-British communications. But one would need to be almost a professional pessimist to believe that this difficulty will not be overcome.

My hope that it would be brief is being realized, my fear that liberation would involve the gradual devastation of France and Belgium has been dispelled. I am unfeignedly thankful.

Check to Communism

UNDOUBTEDLY, the main satisfaction that the Londoner derives from the great victory in France comes from the thought that the flying-bomb bases will soon be put out of action. But there are other reasons why the pacifist may legitimately be glad. And Mr. Churchill, by implication, has lately emphasized one of them.

The British-American victories in France have created a counterpoise to the political influence of Russia. Prior to the campaign in France, the prestige of Communism was continually growing in Europe. No honest pacifist could regard that with

Observer's Commentary

equanimity, for the possibility of pacifist professions depends upon the existence of full civil liberties. The prospect that Fascism would be destroyed to make way for Communism in Europe was forbidding—"an Amurath an Amurath succeeds." He may do, still. But it is, happily, less certain.

Tests of freedom

MR. CHURCHILL'S statement of the "tests of freedom" to Italy (Aug. 29) was concrete, detailed, congenial—and timely.

(1) Is there the right to free expression of opinion, and of opposition to and criticism of the Government of the day?

(2) Have the people the right to turn out a Government of which they disapprove, and are constitutional means provided by which they can make their will apparent?

(3) Are their Courts of Justice free from violence by the Executive and all threats of such violence and all association with any particular political parties?

(4) Will these Courts administer open and well-established laws which are associated in the human mind with the broad principles of decency and justice?

(5) Will there be fair play for poor as well as for rich, for private persons as well as Government officials?

(6) Will the rights of the individual, subject to his duties to the State, be maintained and asserted and exalted?

(7) Is the ordinary peasant or workman free from the fear that some grim police organization will tap him on the shoulder and pack him off without fair or open trial to bondage or ill-treatment?

Danger on the left

THAT is a simple statement such as we have been waiting for. It is rather a pity that Mr. Churchill had not reached these conclusions at the time when he visited Rome and offered elaborate congratulations to Mussolini on the renaissance of Italy which he had accomplished.

Now, we must assume, Mr. Churchill has a clearer view of the essentials of political freedom; and a more certain conviction that political freedom is the best guarantee that a nation will pursue a policy of peace.

It is notable that both the Communist and the Socialist press in Italy omitted Mr. Churchill's warning "against unscrupulous parties seeking after power." Another illuminating fact is that one half of the staff of the chief Communist newspaper served on the staff of a Fascist newspaper. The change from Fascism to Communism and back again was a familiar phenomenon in pre-Nazi Germany. It makes one suspicious when the parties of the Left suppress a plain warning against political violence.

Democracy revives

ONE piece of good news comes from liberated Paris. There the Press has simply ignored all the restrictive Press decrees of the Algiers Government. No less than 14 free newspapers—the size of Peace News—are now appearing in Paris.

Most of them appeared on Aug. 21, two days after the start of the rising in Paris, without bothering to apply for a licence in Algiers or in any way taking regard to the limitations of Press freedom contained in the Algiers decrees. It will hardly be possible to suppress them now. (Observer, Sep. 3).

That is symptomatic of a significant change of the centre of political gravity in France. It looks very much as though Paris will, simply and spontaneously, put de Gaulle in his proper place. He will no doubt be the temporary head of the new French government; but any dreams he may have cherished of continuing the authoritarianism of Algiers in Metropolitan France should be fading fast. With a new democracy in France, one's hopes for Europe would rise.

French demands

WHAT does de Gaulle want at the peace-table? asks Alan Moorehead (Express, Sep. 4), and answers: "The occupation of all Germany to start with and later on probably the annexation of both banks of the Rhine." It is probable enough.

I connect with the raising of this demand the circumstantial report (News-Chronicle, Sep. 2) that USA has requested that she should occupy the Rhineland and the Ruhr, which fell within the British sphere of occupation as previously arranged. Britain, according to the report, demurred to the proposal; and USA put forward a compromise proposal that the whole of Western Germany should be occupied by a combined Anglo-American force.

I surmise that USA is anxious to forestall the possibility of a French occupation of the Rhineland and the Ruhr, to which (she fears) Britain would be more likely to consent than she.

Lecturing the Poles

THE contrast between Paris and Warsaw is tragic indeed. It is deeply to be regretted that The Times (Aug. 31) should read the Warsaw Poles an unctuous moral lesson. In the bitterness of their disappointment at the delay in the Russian advance on Warsaw, they lent an ear

When British troops were in Germany before...

IT is astonishing how quickly most of the Germans have learnt quite a good deal of English, so that in the shops and the cafes "Tommy" has no trouble in obtaining his desires.

The British soldier takes people as he finds them, and he finds the Germans on the whole, in spite of "hard cases," likeable and kind. He likes them because they are clean in their habits and in their homes, where the haus-mädchen polishes up the brass until it shines like gold, and keeps fresh linen on the beds.

He likes the good order and efficiency with which this life on the Rhine is organized—and if we do not want him to like these things, if we want to perpetuate hatred, we must withdraw our army of occupation.

It is no use reminding him of Atrocities, Poison Gas, the Scrap of Paper, and so on. He says, "But this kid with gold hair has got no harm in her, and I like her old mother—and the father who gave me a German pipe.—It's a nice family."

Personally I am not horrified, but profoundly glad that human nature, against all the traditions of prejudice and passion, looks at the quality of the individual rather than at the sins of the nation, and does not nourish vengeance when it meets with "kindness."

—(Sir) Philip Gibbs in Daily Chronicle, Oct. 20, 1919.

The British troops were so good-humouredly received by the enemy population and got on so well with them, that stringent and reiterated orders against "fraternization" were required.

—Winston Churchill in "World Crisis."

HOME OFFICE REPLIES

ON BANNED P.P.U. MEETING

THE Peace Pledge Union has now received a reply to its request to the Home Secretary to receive a deputation to discuss the issues involved in his ban on the Negotiated Peace demonstration which it had been planned to hold in Trafalgar Square last Sunday.

The reply says that the Home Secretary's decision "was taken after full consideration, and he does not think that any purpose would be served by a deputation."

The letter also says: "If there are any matters you would wish to put before him in writing, the Secretary of State would, of course, consider them, or if you would prefer that some representative or representatives should have an interview with an officer of the department, he would be glad to make arrangements accordingly."

In view of the ban on the Trafalgar Square demonstration, a public meeting was held instead in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon.

HELD IN HYDE PARK

In view of the ban on Trafalgar Square, Sunday's demonstration was held in Hyde Park. About 600 people attended, many of them showing themselves to be in sympathy with the arguments of Henry Hilditch, Jack Gibson, and Donald Port, the speakers.

Even with the possibility of victory so near, said Henry Hilditch, the people of Britain could not neglect to consider seriously the case for a negotiated peace. Unconditional surrender was merely a military end, which guaranteed nothing for the political future of Europe.

Answering questions as to who negotiations should be conducted with, Donald Port said that he was in favour of applying the same test as Winston Churchill: he would negotiate with anybody who would talk on his terms. Unfortunately, the terms of the Churchill Government had never been discussed by the people of the Allied countries.

Nearly twelve dozen copies of Peace News were sold outside the Park by a group of about ten volunteers, who also displayed posters advertising the meeting and organized a small poster parade along to Oxford Circus. (Glasgow reply to police interference—page 3.)

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Winning Germany for peace

THE end of the war in Europe is manifestly near. What are the chances of peace?

Perhaps the most ominous feature of the situation at the beginning of the sixth year of World War II is that no principle of peace-making has been enunciated. At the end of World War I there was a positive principle—the self-determination of nations. That has been discredited. It was idealistic—in the sense that it was far in advance of the ethical capacity of the nations. They were incapable of forming the international organization by which alone the self-determination of nations could be limited and therefore real.

Today there is a chaos of conflicting ideas. The one bond of unity between the victorious Allies is their determination to destroy the war-making capacity of Germany. But that purpose, abstractly desirable, is in the concrete highly divisive. War-making potential, as this war has conclusively demonstrated, is nothing other than industrial potential. To destroy Germany's industrial potential would be sheer insanity. Who then is to have the benefit of it?

Obviously, unless there is basic moral-political agreement between the Allies, the command of Germany's industrial potential will itself be the cause of a new war between them. If Germany herself retains it, the struggle merely shifts to: Who will absorb Germany? No extant political ideology has the vestige of an answer to this question. The pretence that some sort of solution to the problem is implicit in the alliance of the Big Three is grotesque in its naivety.

The Big Three are united in nothing so soon as the military defeat of Germany is accomplished. The Alliance must and will break over the simple and central problem of the peace. The tension which already exists over Poland is merely a foretaste of what is to come. Russia has thereby shown her complete contempt for the principle of nationality. Logically enough; for if we measure Russian policy ideologically—contempt for the principle of nationality is inherent in the philosophy of Communism; if we estimate it by standards of Realpolitik, contempt for the principle of nationality is necessary if Germany's war-potential is to be destroyed. Why not apply to Poland the methods and principles which, all nominally agree, will be applied to Germany?

But, alas, having abandoned the principle of nationality you have no principle left at all. Communism, even, has ceased to offer its rather grim alternative. You have nothing left but the struggle for power between supernational groups, with Germany as the immediate corpus vile. As she is economically and geographically, so culturally, Germany stands midway between the libertarian West and the totalitarian East. To partition her permanently between them is fantasy. Germany as a whole will go one way or the other. Deep in the German soul is fear of Russia. That may explain the last phase of Hitler's strategy. Germany almost certainly will want to turn West.

It is imperative that Germany should turn West if the precious ideas of individual freedom and political liberty (which Mr. Churchill has lately enunciated to Italy) are not to suffer eclipse in Europe. It would be foolish to pretend that these are native to Germany as they are to France, Britain or USA. But Germany may be won to them. If she is not, the peace must be lost. The ideas of liberty and constitutional democracy alone have within them the power to reconcile the principle of nationality and the principles of peace.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

PACIFISM IN TRAVAIL

THE only evidence of life is growth, and propaganda may lose in its breadth what propagation can gain in depth and growth. The impersonal means of propaganda may feed reactions against war which come from motives quite other than peace-making convictions—e.g., reactions against physical horrors, resentment against compulsions and inconveniences, and even political ambitions for power through new policy and party.

How many of the Socialist and Communist members of the No-Conscription Fellowship of 1916-20 were against conscription or war in 1939-44? Cobden found that lasting and reliable conviction against war was only to be found in religious or Quaker conviction; yet even Cobden shrank from accepting the principle of non-resistance since "it puts one completely out of court as a practical politician."

UNRESOLVED DIFFICULTY

Have pacifists faced up to this unresolved difficulty of commending pacifism to the public in general, as an idea, before they have passed through the "strait gate" of experiment and experience in particular and personal applications? Can it be argued of pacifism as Dr. Johnson did of honesty? "Honesty is the best policy; but the man who is honest because it is policy is a rogue." It is significant that the two chief exponents of pacifism in and after the last war, Keir Hardie and George Lansbury, both confessed their misgivings at being in politics or taking office in government. These misgivings about the processes of power-politics and popularity ought to be frankly faced; otherwise, pacifists may be caught in the tide of reaction against war with little more than negation and condemnation upon their lips and no creative and constructive examples of peace-making to offer.

Among pacifists themselves there comes a weariness of negation, of protest, of objection, and a craving for some kind of exposition, exploration and manifestation of their positive faith; their conviction must grow roots in the inner personality as well as shoots in society of new growths. The first two Secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation both became unsatisfied with the interim work of organization and generalization of peace propaganda; they felt driven to get down to personal contacts and improvisation of peace in quite small plots in England or America. They have since then still further reduced the scale of their activities. In fact, it may be questioned whether pacifism can function at all apart from related personalities and unless its life pulses through the veins of some proximate fellowship.

BEGIN AT HOME

The alternative danger to which pacifists are liable is an old one.

"The interests of nation, neighbour and self are regarded as matters of meritorious sacrifice in honour of that vague abstraction—universal beneficence. The simpleton who does not love himself well enough to confer upon that individual the first blessing of self-government—the head of a family who has not mind and character enough to order his own household with justice and affection—comforts his conscience by thinking that he has at least the shoulders of an Atlas for the burthen of the world; and flying from his refractory self and ungovernable private affairs, he takes his place, unquestioned by himself or others, among the guides and guardians of mankind in general. In proportion to a man's good sense will be his readiness to confess that his sphere of direct and real usefulness—which is his business—is, as a rule, extremely limited. The old-fashioned limitation of usefulness, that of neighbourhood, is a sound one." (Coventry Patmore, 1886.)

The process of this habit of mind which allows Captain Ill to carry out the purposes of General Good is too obvious to need comment in the contrasts between idealism and realism in Europe today. Two eminent thinkers—Schweitzer and Berdyaev—have described the long growth of depersonalization and the abstraction of the collective mind until it has reached the totalitarianism of today.

The process is equally evident in

industry. Mr. Baldwin's famous speech in the House, "Give Peace in our time, O Lord!" described the friendliness and familiarity between master and worker in the industry in which he was brought up and explained how the growth of combines and trade unions had depersonalized and distanced those relations so that men were today merely delegates and deputies for their sides. One aspect of the conditions in industry, e.g., wages and hours, had been so abstracted for purposes of dispute or debate that the imponderables of friendship and freedom and trust had been neglected or destroyed in the "fight for rights."

THE NEW SECURITY

Prior to the last war, the industrial struggles for higher wages had not succeeded in raising them higher than the increased cost of living; today the illusion of high wages is being shown by the limitations of rations and of goods. A great sociologist could say twenty years ago: "I despair of any real elevation of the working classes until they have learned to distinguish between money wages and real wages!"

The application of all this to industrial conscription involves the probability that the money benefits of some Beveridge Plan may give security without liberty as part of the contract. If employment is to be assured by the State, it seems obvious that refusal of State employment will cancel unemployment benefit. This supposes a "mobility of labour" on a scale before unknown and on conditions which are today virtually conscription in Germany, Russia and England.

The migration of 400,000 young people through unemployment in South Wales, which meant tearing up personal and social roots, has been followed by industrial conscription of far greater numbers since the war; the wel-

Reflections by George M. Ll. Davies

fare conditions may be physically better but the change is spiritually deplorable in their degradation to robot tasks and crowd conditions in industrial hostels and cheap amusements. A surfeit of mere money-benefits and money-pleasures may produce its reaction; the demand for hand-crafts and decent entertainment is already appearing among young people. It may be followed by a concern not only for money-rights but moral rights of personality in the works can, in his measure, create the standard by which he will be judged; the technique of a peace-maker in the factory involves not only method and spirit but, it may be, a martyrdom.

Actually the technique of the Whitley Council method was first suggested to the one-time Speaker by Malcolm Sparkes's article in The Venturer when he was in prison as a CO. The gradual growth of confidence and constructive goodwill in the building trade and the institution of the Builders' Parliament was similarly due to the initiative of one pacifist. The success of the early initiative of the London Guild of Builders and the subsequent failure of the National Builders' Guild had at their roots the different methods of personal initiative and social growth on the one hand, and of large-scale organization and dictatorial control on the other.

TRUE SEED OF PEACE

Some pacifist economist or sociologist would do a great service to industrial pacifism by examining the papers of Malcolm Sparkes and the Builders' Guild in the Friends' Library, and the Report of the Garton Foundation upon "The Industrial Council of the Building Industry" in the stages and conditions of its first growth. For the author of it all, it meant financial renunciation and loss and apparent failure and abandonment by the very men who professed the ideals of Guild Socialism but who were prepared to use short cuts of persons and of principles to reach their ends. There is no more poignant example of the need for keeping to spiritual means for spiritual ends than the story of the Builders' Guilds.

If the true seed of peace exists it will not be effectual by remaining in the granary of big organization; only in so far as it is scattered and falls to the earth and dies can it vindicate its life by experiment and experience. To count heads in the polling booth is about as irrelevant as counting heads on the battlefield for the making of real peace. The benediction of Christ is for the peace-makers not the pacifists, for those who can announce the coming of the Kingdom, somewhere among men rather than for those who denounce the ways of the world.

LETTERS

The German people and their government

"OBSERVER" is hardly fair to the foreign secretary in his commentary of Aug. 11. He quotes Mr. Eden as saying that Germany could not be allowed to establish whatever government she desires after the war, and that "he could not conceive that the Nazi-trained German mentality was going willingly to accept a peace which did not allow a future Nazi domination of Europe." "Observer" condenses this to the remark that "the only kind of peace possible is one which the Germans cannot possibly accept." All Mr. Eden says is that the only kind of peace possible may not be accepted willingly.

Clearly this is a fundamental problem, and the fact that Mr. Eden recognizes it does not justify the suggestion that he ought to make way for someone with a mind. Personally I don't think Germany can be expected to produce a satisfactory government internally, immediately after military defeat. If you reduce a country to chaos from outside, it is then necessary and logical to impose the kind of peace you think suitable if only provisionally. To this extent the Atlantic Charter is inapplicable to Germany. We cannot combine our ruthless military aggression with its generous principles.

A. F. SHANNON

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"Observer" writes: "My contention was that, propounded in Mr. Eden's terms, the problem of securing peace is quite insoluble. The possibility of a future German domination of Europe can only be eliminated by a peace which also eliminates the possibility of a future Russian or British domination. Such a peace would be eagerly accepted by the majority of Germans today. If there are to be limitations on sovereignty, as there ought to be, they should be universally not unilaterally applied. Permanently to condemn a great nation to an inferior status is to invite catastrophe."

There is a very general belief, even among some pacifists, that Hitler was put into power by a majority vote of the German people, but I was sorry to see this entirely erroneous belief supported in your editorials twice in three weeks (July 28 and Aug. 11).

Hitler's appointment as Chancellor (i.e. Prime Minister) by President Hindenburg in January, 1933, was quite constitutional, for he was the leader of the largest single party—out of over a dozen—in the Reichstag, but in the general election preceding the crisis, in November, 1932, his party received barely one third (33.2%) of the total vote. In the previous general election in July, 1932, they had polled 37% of the total vote, so actually the belief in Hitler as a "divinely appointed leader" appears to have been on the wane.

These were the last two free elections held in Germany, but even in the next election, held with Hitler in power, under the terror which followed the Reichstag fire, with all the Communist leaders and many of other parties imprisoned, and with armed Nazi guards watching every vote being cast, even then the Nazi Party obtained only 43.9% of the total vote. Even at the risk of their lives 56.1% of the German electorate had the courage to vote against Hitler, and that figure does not include a very large number of communists who were prevented from voting at all. (The figures are from "Keesing's Contemporary Archives".)

It may seem merely of academic interest to discuss the degree of responsibility for Hitler which must be borne by the German people, or by any section of it; but this is not so. It is of the most vital practical importance that the Nazi myth of the unity of the whole nation "behind the Führer" should be exposed. The trend of the post-war settlement will depend, ultimately, on public opinion in the victorious countries. It was the ignorance and gullibility of the public which made the Versailles settlement possible. Surely there is no more urgent task for pacifists than to spread as widely as possible knowledge and understanding of the truth about Germany in an endeavour to prevent the same thing—or worse—happening again.

SCOTT BAYLISS

Buckhurst Hill.

It is of interest that Mr. H. N. Brailsford, discussing this point in "Our Settlement With Germany" (Penguin Special), writes: (the Nazis) "polled 44 per cent. of the votes cast—if we may trust their figures and their counting. They had, however, the support of the German National Party and the combined poll of both parties amounted to 51.7 per cent. That majority of 1.7 per cent. put Hitler into power beyond recall."—Ed., PN.

The Russian contribution

Some 40 years ago a group of Russian exiles settled at Tuckton, Bournemouth. These—men and women whose crime was that of thinking honestly, and independently of the Tsarist tyranny—usefully employed themselves, among other activities, in running a publishing concern which far and wide earned fame as the Free Age Press. Translations of Leo Tolstoy's essays and stories, an exceedingly helpful life of W. Lloyd Garrison, the great American anti-slavery worker, the Story of the Doukhobors and similar works were offered at a price within easy reach of the common man's pocket at pre-1914-18 war price standard.

Recently I, as literature secretary for this region of the PPU, was requested to help get the comparatively small stock of surplus remaining out into the world. Maybe now while the world is dazzled by the big military feats of the Stalin war-machine it may be timely to show some of those ultimately more valuable contributions to true human progress made by Russian literary and spiritual genius.

JOE JACKSON

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THE ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

Lecture School for Northern peace
workers

OCTOBER 7th 8th
at HEYS FARM, near Clitheroe

Lecturers:
WILLIAM H. MARWICK
LEYTON RICHARDS

Details from Friends' Peace Committee,
Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

Those imprecise weapons ARE THEY ALL GERMAN?

by LAURENCE HOUSMAN

LORD VANSITTART, and those of his kind who continue to fatten their hatred of a "Guilty nation" on the shameful imprecision of the flying-bomb, might find very similar material for shame nearer home, if they had the decent honesty to look for it, and to admit it when found. But to make any moral comparison of certain imprecisions of the Allies with the imprecision of the enemy is, in that school of thought (or absence of thought) to be "pro-German."

Which is the more imprecise proceeding—to do with your war-weapons what you intend to do for a definite military purpose (which certainly includes the weakening of the public morale), or to do with them something which you did not intend to do—and something which, when it has been done, strikes one not only as lamentable but as wantonly shameful?

Bombed Frenchmen

A week or two before the liberation of Paris, Allied planes (not flying automatically, but consciously directed by human pilots) dropped bombs on Frenchmen loading

barges with food for its half-starving population. If that was precisely intended it was utterly damnable; if it was not intended, it was a more purposeless example of imprecision than any of the destruction of material or of morale wrought by the flying bomb. How much it helped to ingratiate us to the population of Paris we are not told; we can only guess.

More recently in our own country, near Preston, an American plane crashed on a school—killing 54 persons, 35 of them children. I am told by someone living in that neighbourhood that the crash was the direct result of stunt-flying—similar to the stunt-flying which, a year or two ago, caused the death of several of the pupils of Downside College. And when, after that slight mishap, the responsible departmental Minister was asked in Parliament to stop stunt-flying, he refused: it was part of the duty he said, of our airmen to be adventurous and risk death—not only their own, apparently, but other people's.

On this more recent occasion the charge of stunt-flying, as the cause of the accident, did not get into the Press; but if the charge is true, the coroner's jury would have been justified in bringing in a verdict of manslaughter against the airmen who in killing others killed also themselves. The imprecision was accidental but it was the product of wanton conduct—mere swagger, which, at this stage at all events, was not in any way helping to shorten the war.

In peace-time, too

But that incident of the purposeless and unintended slaughter of 35 children, which coming all at once was sufficiently dramatic to arrest public attention, causing grief and horror to all who heard it, was a very small example of imprecision in the wanton misuse of a war-weapon, in comparison to that vast imprecision of slaughter (mainly of children) which, without the excuse of war, we perpetuate annually upon our public highways—merely in the pursuit of speed!

We are so accustomed to it that the general public conscience has become atrophied: we are not roused by the horror of it, we are not ashamed by it—not nationally, only individually.

Can anyone really deny that that annual sacrifice of lives, which we tolerate because we have grown accustomed to it, is a far more shameful product of imprecision (and also far greater in its destructiveness) than the flying-bomb? Are not we, too, then, a "Guilty nation"? What excuse for us has Lord Vansittart to offer?

WHAT IS A PACIFIST?

What is a pacifist? Perhaps readers may be enlightened by these two suggestions (writes a correspondent):

An elementary schoolboy, quoted by Punch, gives this unaccountable definition—"a gentle laxative is a man who won't fight."

On the other hand the sister of a pacifist friend was in the Land Army until recently. She was talking "families" with an Italian prisoner and had arrived at the stage of exchanging photos. Passing over a photo of my friend (in civvies) she said "And this is my brother." The Italian pondered over it a while then—"Christian gentleman?" he asked.



Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG for the Food-Relief Campaign (P.P.U.)

A WARNING FROM 1919

We dare not ignore it again

When the last Peace Treaty was in the making, there were warnings that it bore within it the seeds of future trouble. Now, when events have amply vindicated those unheeded warnings, and there are all too many indications that some of the errors may be repeated, it is appropriate to recall the prophecies. The following passage from the Rt. Hon. Sir Halford J. Mackinder's "Democratic Ideals and Reality" comes within this category and is as relevant today as when it was first published in 1919. The author was at one time Reader (afterwards Professor) in Geography at Oxford and the University of London. ("Democratic Ideals and Reality" has been issued this year in Pelican Books.)

NO doubt it may be urged that German mentality will be altered by the German defeat. He would be a sanguine man, however, who would trust the future peace of the world to a change in the mentality of any nation. Look back to old Froissart or to Shakespeare, and you will find your Englishman, Scotsman, Welshman and Frenchman with all their essential characteristics already fixed.

The Prussian is a definite type of humanity with his good and his bad points, and we shall be wise if we act on the assumption that his kind will breed true to its type. However great the defeat which in the end we may have inflicted on our chief enemy, we should only be cheapening our own achievement if we did not recognize in the North German one of the three or four most virile races of mankind.

NEW RUTHLESSNESS

Even with revolution in Germany let us not be too sure in regard to its ultimate effect. The German revolutions of 1848 were almost comic in their futility. Since Bismarck there has been only one German Chancellor with political insight, and he—Von Bülow—has declared in his book on "Imperial Germany" that "The German has always accomplished his greatest works under strong, steady, and firm guidance." The end of the present disorder may only be a new ruthless organization, and ruthless organizers do not stop when they have attained the objects which they at first set before them.

It will be replied, of course, that though Prussian mentality remain unchanged, and though a really stable Prussian democracy be slow in its development, yet that Germany will, in any case, be so impoverished that she cannot do harm for the better part of a century to come. Is there not, however, in that idea a misreading of the real nature of riches and poverty under modern conditions? Is it not productive power which now counts rather than dead wealth?

Shall we not all of us—and now in some degree even the Americans also

—have spent our dead capital, and shall we not all of us, the Germans included, be starting again in the productive race practically from scratch? The world was astonished at the rapidity with which France recovered from her disaster of 1870, but the power of industrial production was as nothing then to what it is now. Sober calculation in regard to Britain leads to the conclusion that her increased productive power, owing to reorganization and new methods compelled by the war, should far exceed the interest and sinking fund even of her vast war debts.

No doubt you have the Paris Resolutions, and can deny to a refractory Germany the raw materials wherewith to compete with you. If you resort to that method, however, you postpone your League of Nations, and you remain a League of Allies. Are you certain, moreover, that you would win in an economic war? You might undoubtedly handicap Germany, but a handicap may only lead to greater effort.

Reply to police interference at Glasgow peace meetings

THE United Peace Campaign has submitted to the Glasgow magistrates and to Mr. Tom Johnston, Secretary of State for Scotland, a full report of police interference at its Glasgow meetings (reported in Peace News a fortnight ago).

Mr. Johnston has been asked:

"1. If the Home Secretary intends to ban all our proposed meetings and those meetings organized by committees similar to our own";
"2. If the area used for meetings (streets adjoining Sauchiehall St.) is to be prohibited to all minority groups of opinion and
"3. If so, why does not the Home Secretary issue an official statement to this effect?"

"CHURCHILL'S WAR"

Over 300 people heard the Rev. Richard Lee and Guy Aldred speak on "Why continue Churchill's War?" at an indoor meeting in Glasgow on Aug. 20.

Richard Lee gave a graphic account of Winston Churchill's "black record" since the last war. "Have no doubt about it," he said, "Churchill enjoys war. All his life he has wanted a big war . . . and now that he has got it he doesn't seem to want to stop it. . . . Churchill's policy means War Forever."

About "unconditional surrender" he said: "The Government has no right to condemn thousands of soldiers, sailors, airmen and civilians to death and horrible mutilation by prolonging the war unnecessarily." His idea of peace terms was an offer to all belligerent and neutral countries to meet at a table and discuss the peace on equal terms.

Guy Aldred said that to call this "Churchill's War" did not get away from the fact that we all shared the responsibility for allowing it to come about. The duty of the pacifist, Christian, and socialist was to oppose war and to convey that sense of responsibility to others.

A charming way of revenge

Sir Thomas-Browne, in "Christian Morals":

TOO many there be to whom a dead enemy smells well, and who find musk and amber in revenge. The ferocity of such minds holds no rule in retaliations, requiring too often a head for a tooth, and the supreme revenge for trespasses which a night's rest should obliterate. But patient meekness takes injuries like pills, not chewing but swallowing them down, laconically suffering, and silently passing them over; while angered pride makes a noise like Homeric Mars, at every scratch of offences. Since women do most delight in revenge, it may seem but feminine manhood to be vindictive.

If thou must needs have thy revenge of thine enemy, with a soft tongue break his bones, heap coals of fire on his head, forgive him and enjoy it. To forgive our enemies is a charming way of revenge, and a short Caesarian conquest, overcoming without a blow; laying our enemies at our feet, under sorrow, shame, and repentance; leaving our foes our friends, and solicitously inclined to grateful retaliations.

Thus to return upon our adversaries is a healing way of revenge; and to do good for evil a soft and melting union, a method taught from heaven to keep all smooth on earth. Common forcible ways make not an end of evil, but leave hatred and malice behind them. An enemy thus reconciled is little to be trusted, as wanting the foundation of love and charity, and but for a time restrained by disadvantage or inability.

If thou hast not mercy for others, yet be not cruel unto thyself. To ruminate upon evils, to make critical notes upon injuries, and be too acute in their apprehensions, is to add unto our own tortures, to feather the arrows of our enemies, to lash ourselves with the scorpions of our foes, and to resolve to sleep no more. For injuries' long dreamt on take away at last all rest, and he sleeps but like Regulus who busieth his head about them.

VANSITTART DECLINES TO DEBATE

The PPU has been trying to arrange a public debate between Lord Vansittart and an opponent of his views. Lord Vansittart has now sent a friendly reply declining the invitation.

The opposing speaker would have been Dr. Alex Wood, PPU Chairman.

A C.O. IN NORMANDY

An interesting interview with Ernest Baxler of Blackburn, a CO who dropped with the airborne section of the RAMC in Normandy on D-Day and was afterwards temporarily a prisoner of the Germans, is among the contents of the August issue of the CBCO Bulletin for August. (CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1, 3d., or 4d. post paid.)

WAR AND THE CHILD MIND

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SHORTER REVIEWS

Creative Peace, by Zbigniew Grabowski, Macmillan, 2s.

MR. GRABOWSKI, a Polish biographer of Conrad and Pater, has introduced his fellow-countrymen to Hemingway and Remarque in translation. There can be no doubt that he is, as several emigre Poles of the younger generation are, an admirable ambassador both to and from Western Europe.

At the moment he especially merits our respect in resisting the temptation to accept the fatal principle of "compensation" in German territories for his much-tried nation. This political essay is a cool but convincing statement of the case of the small nations. "Different standards," the writer shows, "are applied to the conduct of totalitarian and democratic Great Powers."

In his appraisal of Soviet policy he is shrewd and restrained, and his conclusion that the bogey of the *cordon sanitaire* is strictly comparable to the Nazi "encirclement" cry carries conviction.

Poland wants merely to be left out of power-politics, a hope which is, given her geographical position, terribly difficult of fulfilment. The claim of Russia to tolerate only "friendly" regimes on her borders makes the difficulties insuperable.

Readers will be indulgent to M. Grabowski's bursts of Hun-baiting. At least he sees that the essence of the Nazi attitude is by no means confined to German citizens, and in pleading for a creative settlement which is not a masked dictatorship of the triumvirate he is, doubtless, speaking for many in every country. His warning is timely, cogent and eminently readable.

Equality in a Christian Social Order, by Horace B. Pointing, Society of Friends, 6d.

A LOT of rubbish is talked about being neighbours to the poor. It is almost impossible to be a neighbour to one whose pattern of life is utterly different from one's own. It is refreshing to have the Industrial and Social Order Council of the Society of Friends sponsoring such forthright sentiments as these.

Mr. Pointing asks passionately for "brotherhood" to be conceived in economic terms. Christians, he argues, cannot make the calculations which are required to defend a class-divided and socially unequal society. Unfortunately, the real objections to an egalitarian society are not faced, and as the author does not make a clear call for personal example now it is in danger of being dismissed as "Utopian" by those who wish to rationalize their inertia.

Here Today, 16, Argyle St., Reading. 1s. 3d.

PIERRE Edmunds and Roland Mathias, the editors, make a brave attempt to "apply certain features" of the small publication favoured by young writers "to the circumstances of a provincial town." This number, however, owes little to Reading except for a discussion of amateur repertory drama in the town. The other contributions include short stories, poems and reviews of a generally high quality, with Miss Vera Flower's "Incident at Ephesus" outstanding. Reading has unsuspected talent.

H.W.

Penicillin is now being sent to prisoner of war camps in Germany by the Red Cross and St. John. It is hoped to send regular monthly consignments to camp medical officers.

CAN WE CREATE A NEW KIND OF CRAFTSMANSHIP?

In a Strange Land. By Eric Gill. Jonathan Cape, 6s.

MUST I point out that by Catholic here I do not mean only those who are explicitly practising members of the Church? He that is not against me is for me.

The quotation would be wilfully out of context if it were used to suggest that Catholicism in the stricter sense was not central in Gill's view of life. But reading it I could not help but wonder where Gill would have drawn the boundary to mark off those who are "not against" him. It is the central question for a sceptical non-Christian who is permitted to review this book of Gill's essays as a person likely to be critical of them, and who yet is quite simply glad that the man lived—a token of the possibility of a fulfilled human life.

To concede that is to make a fundamental admission, though not the most fundamental. If all Catholics were such if none but Catholics; even if none but Christians . . . But there is no easy point to be made.

The critic with a degree of sympathy is naturally drawn to seek the crucial link between the purely religious and the more general social aspects of Gill's thought.

"A man may even be a good Christian and yet be a slave-owner or a murderer . . . a man may be a good Christian and yet be a slave."

"Governments exist to create such conditions as are consistent with the salvation of souls."

On the one hand the good society is not necessary to salvation; on the other (for the word "consistent" is carefully chosen and justified) it is not the duty (because it is not within the competence) of society to make Christians. But it is the duty of society to permit that personal fulfilment within which and (I think, Gill would have said) from which Catholic faith can flower.

Bridge and barrier

Gill's own story of his adoption of Catholicism is very significant of the real point of contact that non-Catholics can find with him. He imagined his own church (so I remember it from his autobiography) and discovered it was the Catholic Church. Which is, so it seems to me, as much as to say that he never made that submission to a personally alien authority which often stands as a barrier between the sense of integrity of Christian and non-Christian. That proclamation of personal fulfilment is

"The life of the craftsman is still a vivid parable, but it is only a shadowy analogy of the new creative society we have to find that shall use all of a man and disdain no technical skills."



ERIC GILL

This review is of his last published book

a bridge between the two modes of thought, even if only a bridge and not a breaking-down of all barriers to understanding.

"Peace is not only natural to men but is the state of affairs in which alone men can fulfil themselves or (which is only another way of saying the same thing) properly serve their fellow-men and love and praise God."

Service to our fellow-men is another bridge; but the word "properly" marks the barrier, for it is in the meeting of service and praise of God that Gill's thought is most characteristic, and most characteristic too his expression of it.

"Action is for the sake of contemplation, the active for the sake of the contemplative." But: "Leisure is secular, work is sacred. Holidays are the active life, the working-life is the contemplative life."

The highly personal vocabulary (although elsewhere he writes "by 'real' words I mean words having a universal signification") sums up the demand that society should be such that man's work may truly be his prayer.

Now, at one level there is ease of agreement. That the task to which one gives one's best,

by which one earns, not merely sustenance but, in one's own and other eyes, the essential human pride; that the honouring of this should be the justification of social organization is an ideal easy of acceptance, however hard its materialization. It is the identification of that ideal with what, I think it can be fairly said, is the commonly individual and personal sense of the word "prayer" that makes the mystery and the problem.

Perhaps the objection is a protestant one (for most Englishmen however unchristian, sometimes, even, however Catholic, have the protestant cast of mind). For Catholics prayer, if not less personal in inner intention, is more communal in its forms. On the other hand, the non-worshipper finds the impersonal beauty of the Mass easier of emotional acceptance than the individualism of the impromptu prayer. And in this light, by a queer inversion, Gill's insistence upon the individually responsible single craftsman seems at times oddly protestant. His thought remains theoretical, a false deduction from spirituality in isolation, rather than fused in a catholic humanism. The clue is there, but not the answer.

The clue is (where else could it be for a Catholic sculptor?) in the abiding constructional glories of the cathedrals:

"In slave architecture sculpture is an extra ordered by the architect and placed as he chooses. It is not a product of the exuberance of the workman."

Was it accidental?

Up to the industrial revolution architects "much against their wills no doubt" had "to leave a certain amount of responsibility to the workman simply because you couldn't draw out everything on paper . . . there wasn't paper enough."

Is that the epitaph of the fulfilled brick-layer: "There was enough paper"? Did his prayer rely upon shortage, on the mere absence of advanced machinery, machinery which "was indeed a blessed relief from the cruel conditions of the workers in early industrial times." Or have we to write a new epitaph for the fulfilled architect? May he no longer be fulfilled although he has enough paper?

The answer is clearly not good enough. The mystery of the perfection of the cathedrals lacks its natural theology. Did the mason's hand never falter: was its freedom to do so essential to the salvation of souls? Large-scale planning no doubt easily falls into inhumanity, but is there no thinker of grand design into whose inspiration we can ever enter with joy of co-operation? Nothing between individualism and God? Gill would not have said this, but the thought is there as a trap for the too literal disciple.

The life of the craftsman is still a vivid parable, but it is only a shadowy analogy of the new creative society we have to find that shall use all of a man and disdain no technical skills.

A. C. Staniland

NATURE NOTE —for the civilized

From a correspondent

The mole, through ceasing to use its eyes, has become blind and spends most of its life in tunnels under the ground. Apart from short periods of sleep, it passes its time in strenuous labour. It suffers from a perpetual aggressor-complex and, whenever it encounters a strange mole not belonging to its own clan, it at once engages in furious and mortal combat, without pausing to inquire if there is any necessity to do so.

How thankful we should be that civilized man, being endowed by the Creator with the light of Reason, is so superior in his conduct to this foolish and irascible beast!

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SHE MARRIED A SOLDIER

by "OWLGLASS"

I'VE just read a review of the recently produced play, "Crisis In Heaven," in which the character of "Peace" plays a leading role.

Relating the story of it, the reviewer says, "Peace had to have a husband . . . she selected Courage, in the form of a British Tommy, who had been fighting on the side of Peace for centuries."

I've seen several reviews of this play, and so far find none that regards this marriage as unnatural. All seem to take it for granted that Peace and War are natural affinities. None shares my impulse to forbid the banns.

★

NOW, there are many plays which can end satisfactorily with the betrothal of the hero and heroine. This is emphatically not one of them. We simply must know what's going to happen to Peace after she's married.

It would help us a lot if we were told what name she will adopt. I doubt whether characters in an allegory could so far modernize themselves as to adopt the wife's name. Yet can we, on the other hand, imagine Peace agreeing to be known as Mrs. War (née Peace)?

Or will both agree to grant equal honour to their respective genealogies by adopting the hyphenated family name of Mr. and Mrs. Pax-Bellum?

★

SOME people interpret this allegory as meaning that the marriage of Peace will end War. I see no reason to classify the mild and gentle Peace

with that somewhat rough-mannered species of female spider which is reported to conclude its nuptials by swallowing its mate.

We must, I think, assume that the marriage will proceed in the normal way. And the first question is: When the wielder of the sword and the bearer of the olive-branch join forces, what will happen to their respective jobs?

Will both maintain professional independence in working hours, as when a lady doctor marries a chartered accountant? If not, which of them will go domestic?

If both go on with their jobs, one can imagine the conversation when they meet in the evening after the day's work:—

"Well, dear, and what have you been doing today?"

"Oh, I started a revolution in Nijnibaijan. And what has my pretty been doing with herself?"

"Oh, I stopped one in Bingbong."

And then they go off arm in arm to the pictures and forget the day's worries.

(Query: Children? We must take it that these are intended. Allegorical marriages are always fruitful. But which parent will they take after? Safe to assume, I think, that like those of the lady who married a darkie, they'll be some white, some black and—indubitably—some khaki.)

★

IT may be argued that upon this marriage wars will cease, since the soldier, having won what he was fighting for (i.e., Peace) will now stop fighting.

But what guarantee have we that this particular husband will be more ready than most other husbands to let his wife carry on with her job, while he gives up his occupation and stays at home to mind the baby?

Is it likely that a soldier, who's been doing nothing but fight for centuries, would willingly give it all up while still in the full vigour of life, and settle down to obscure and inglorious domesticity?

Evidently that's what the silly girl expects. It's not the first time that an earnest and idealistic young woman has married a man in order to reform him. But we know all about those pre-nuptial promises of reform, don't we, ladies? Men will say anything when they're courting. I don't wish to appear cynical, but if you ask me, the illusion will last about as long as the honeymoon.

★

NO; I know quite well what will happen. The masculine instinct will assert itself. "It's a husband's duty to defend his wife," he will say, "and in times like these, my dear, you need a protector."

But of course he won't go on being a soldier. Oh no! He'll just be ready, in case Peace should ever be molested. Not obtrusively, you understand. But should you ask him why there's always a rifle in the umbrella stand, he'll say there are a lot of suspicious characters in the neighbourhood.

As the Vicar will say at the wedding, "If you want to keep Peace, Tommy, prepare for war."

And so they will marry and settle down in a neat double-fronted villa called Collective Security.

And the boys will go to Sandhurst.

ISOLATED CONTACTS

FOR a movement which does not measure its strength by the size of its battalions, the dispersal of membership is neither a catastrophic nor an insuperable difficulty. Indeed, in many ways it is an undisguised advantage. The new contacts which are made, the different alignments of members, can have nothing but a beneficial effect on the thought and policy of a body of people committed not to an orthodoxy, but to a revolutionary upturning of the values of society.

Yet difficulties are there to be overcome, and they are most dangerous when they are least apparent. On the one hand, there is the possibility of isolated members despairing of achievement for want of the feeling of corporate effort. On the other there is the loss to the Union itself.

Nor is that all. The witness of individual pacifists can rarely be convincing outside the field of personal behaviour. It is the group which adds the criticism of contemporary politics and demonstrates a pattern for social relationships.

The PPU has shown its concern for the individual by decentralizing its organization. By its procedure of discussion at group, regional, and area meetings, it has attempted to weigh and sift the contribution of each of its members. Yet the problem of the isolated contact in the town or in the country is of a different order. The question to be faced is how he can be identified with the Union as a whole.

Looked at from one angle, this is not a problem of organization or distance at all. It is a matter of the growth of the Union from an innocuous society, to which no pacifist could object, into a dynamic democracy of peace, from which no pacifist could withhold his support. Nevertheless, there are organizational questions which it is our job to consider here.

One of the ways in which the movement has tackled the question of isolated signatories is by the creation of contact members, whose job it is to act as secretaries for the four or five people in their district. They distribute Peace News, collect finances, and pass on information about the movement's activities. More such people are required.

But the problem of a depopulated area such as Central Wales or the Fens cannot be met by this method. A correspondence contact member is much more the kind of person that we require: someone who will undertake to write to half-a-dozen people each month, and give them news, perhaps send their Peace News weekly, and be responsible for collecting their financial contributions.

The Scottish Pamphlet Club has done much to maintain contact with isolated COs by circulating a large number of pamphlets at regular intervals. This is a job which might be included with the other. If Area Committees could discover a dozen people who would take the responsibility of making these few contacts each month—it is work which could perhaps be taken on by members who cannot help in other ways—the problem of the signatory isolated in a distant village would be partly solved.

PLEASE REMEMBER—

that postal deliveries are liable to delay, when sending advertisements or other copy to Peace News. We cannot accept responsibility for non-publication of copy which has arrived later than Monday, even if posted in what would normally be good time.

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ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCreath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

Do you know a newsagent who will sell Peace News—and perhaps display it as well? If so, the Peace News office can arrange to supply him. Write to 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

"THE WAY FORWARD"

Report on the P.P.U. summer school

By Stormont Murray

IT speaks well for the warmth of spirit in the PPU that despite an unpropitious start the Spicelands conference so rapidly reached that magic psychological moment when a summer school of comparative strangers suddenly becomes a "family" of friends.

A formidable journey (for most of us), followed by a late arrival at a house of forbidding aspect, was little calculated to fortify us for meeting the profound shock of Maurice Rowntree's death. This shock, together with the temporary absence of John Barclay, our vivacious MC, might so easily have damped the spirits of us all—but everyone—having decided that Maurice would have wished the conference to proceed as usual, rose cheerfully to the occasion, with the result that the PPU summer school turned out to be a splendid success.

In fact, thanks to the good fellowship which developed and which was aided both by the spiritual quality of the lectures and the unobtrusive and ever-ready courtesy of Jean and Don Ironside and the rest of the Spicelands staff, we soon forgot that we were living in an architectural monstrosity and grew quite fond of the place with its breadth of Devon scenery, and with its restful isolation from Woolworth civilization—not to mention its squeaky stairway, its eighteen cats, and its solitary duck. Before the end of the week even the most unbending among us relaxed sufficiently to participate in the community spirit, were it but to writhe and wrestle with Patrick Figgis in his writing of his "Group Letter" or to triumph with Isa Rundle when (with the aid of a flashing frock and a special-weight ball!) she ran away with the table tennis championship.

The good will manifest among this haphazard group of PPU members (which included Marxists, Catholics, very vegetarians and one very charming Buddhist), is worth special mention as indicating a reality of union among Peace Pledgers which promises well for the future of our work as peace-makers.

"THE WAY FORWARD"

The general theme of the lecture course was "The Way Forward" and, starting with the more comprehensive subject of the Far East and Europe, the field of research narrowed down to "The Way Forward for the PPU" and (finally) for the Individual.

Ayana Deva ably described the problem of Imperialism in the Far East, and Harold Bing gave a scholarly account of European conditions. Both speakers stressed the danger to peace of imperialist and industrialist policies—and the latter advocated the distribution of power in small units as a necessary means to prevent the withering of the vitality of the common man under totalitarian tyranny.

Time and time again in the discussions this problem of the "Right use of the control of power" received attention—and it also became clear that the pacifist can no longer treat war

as an isolated phenomenon but must recognize that because modern industrialist society "naturally expresses itself in war" its false values have to be defied as a whole in the light of the pacifist faith.

THE POLITICAL SCENE

Reg. Sorensen indicated to what a frightening degree the British community is charging towards cynicism, frustration, and apathy—but was disappointing, I thought, in his advocacy of political reforms and increased production at home and abroad—as means to cope with this desperate situation.

Wilfred Wellock postulated the need for a spiritual revolution if the frustrated peoples are to be saved from selling their freedom for security. "Nothing is of value," he said, "except it increases the integrity of man, and this involves (a) the right to engage in creative labour; (b) responsibility for the family, or small unit; and (c) the right to work for his neighbours so that a man is respected for the quality of his labour."

INDIAN PROBLEM

John Hoyland's masterly treatment of the problems of India defies any slick summary, although to one listener at least his speech was the most impressive and significant. The spirit of his message may perhaps be summed up in a sentence he quoted from Gandhi: "The only hope of unity for India is the doing of something to turn the war spirit right round into the spirit of brotherhood." He also explained how Gandhi deliberately "stripped himself of the apparatus of power" (material possessions)—only then becoming filled with the power of the spirit.

The lecture course finished with speeches by Donald Port, Patrick Figgis and John Barclay.

OUR FUTURE

It is probable that some speeches will be published in Peace News or will be made available in typescript for any PPU member to obtain on application.

Of particular value was Patrick Figgis's talk on "Our Influence—leaven or political?" in which a difference of values which runs right through the PPU was brought out into the open. A sentence from John Barclay's final speech fittingly sums up the conference findings: "We get together in numbers out of fear of sinister events: we have to regain faith in ourselves as persons. Democracy is impossible, unless we have faith that the person and the small group are stronger than the State."

To conclude this inadequate report a few words must be devoted to the praise of John and Irene Barclay for their indefatigable ministry to both the corporate and individual needs of the conference. They were the burden-bearers for us all, they shouldered the troubles arising from Maurice's tragic death, they led us in gaiety of spirit and smoothed our every difficulty of a minor kind. That the 1944 PPU summer school proved successful beyond all anticipation is due mainly to these two persons, John and Irene—and we are grateful indeed.

JOHN BARCLAY

John Barclay writes: "Will any group secretary or Peace News distributor who wishes me to address a meeting, or series of meetings, especially for the period between now and Christmas, please write at once to me at 64 Ellerton Rd., London, S.W.18."

IN MEMORY OF MILTON

The PEN Milton Memorial Conference, held in London from Aug. 22 to 26 to celebrate the tercentenary of "Areopagitica," his pamphlet against censorship, assembled forty speakers who delivered in ten sessions thirty-minute lectures on the theme: "The place of spiritual and economic values in the future of mankind"—although most of the addresses were less clumsy than this title.

Among the "spiritualists" were a Dean, a Reverend, a Rabbi and a Jesuit; for the economists spoke Professor Haldane, Dr. Joad, Professor Laski and Professor Levy; among the notable lecturers were E. M. Forster, Hsiao Chien, Salvador Madariaga, Herbert Read, Kingsley Martin, Mulk Raj Anand, Herbert Agar.

The discussion was very lively and the atmosphere very cordial, only in the case of a scientist who propagated very fascist ideas under the camouflage of liberalism was there some tension.

Laski, Raj and Read gave much learned information about Milton and his period. The conference was perfectly organized and a great success for the spirit of friendship and benevolence among the authors of allied nations and their exiled comrades. The only shortcoming was the poor attendance and the absence of Service men and women. They might have learned something.

F.G.

POLICE SERGEANT BECAME AN OBJECTOR

An interesting case came before the North-Western local CO tribunal at Carlisle on Aug. 22, when Francis W. Woods, an ex-London police sergeant now living at Millom, told the tribunal he had given up his job and been directed to Millom by the International Bible Students' Association (Jehovah's Witnesses).

Judge E. C. Burgess, the chairman, said it was not always easy to determine the sincerity of a man. The test was whether he was prepared to suffer financially. Here was a London police sergeant entitled to substantial remuneration and substantial future prospects which he had given up. Had the applicant really wanted to avoid military service he would have remained in his reserved occupation.

They had decided that he was sincere and he would be registered as a conscientious objector without qualifications.

WELSH P.P.U. CONFERENCE

A conference of Heddychwyr Cymru (Welsh PPU) was held at the George Hotel, Bangor, from Aug. 21 to 26. Forty-eight members were resident at the hotel, and many more attended the meetings.

The speakers were: Dr. Alex Wood, Principal J. Morgan Jones, Mr. George M. Ll. Davies (President), Revs. T. H. Williams (For Organizer), J. P. Davies, R. J. Jones, D. E. Williams, H. Harris Hughes, and T. Nefyn Williams, Mr. George Hooson, Mr. Gwynfor Evans (Secretary), Miss Nora Isaac (Welsh School), and Miss Meinir Davies. The Organizing Secretary was the Rev. D. R. Thomas, of Aberdare.

Several English friends attended the conference. There were four discussion groups, three Welsh and one English. At the end of each morning session, reports from each group were received in the general meeting.

Expressions of sympathy were sent to the widow and daughters of the late Maurice Rowntree, to Canon Charles Raven on the death of his wife, and to the PPU Council. Greetings were sent to Mr. Rhys J. Davies, MP.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

CARAVAN OWNER wants to meet chum (cyclist) to share. Codicote district. Box 582.

OLD UNIT "M" members, how are you all? I'd be glad to hear from any of you, any time. Mona Bentin, Isleham, Sandy Lodge Way, Northwood, Middx.

WOULD TWO friends (some catering experience) run lunch and cake business for month or two to enable tired owner to take rest. Instruction given if desired. Possible further co-operation later. Full particulars from Jon's, 62 Queen's Grove, N.W.8.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

WANTED—COOK, experienced and interested in vegetarian and reformed food, for nature-cure home and guest-house. Apply Miss Harris, Hinton House, Hinton Charterhouse, nr. Bath.

TYPEWRITER MECHANIC wanted, good wages and prospects to right man. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

PROG. SCHOOL. Bucks., has vacancy for domestic help, light house duties, mending, etc. Child welcome. Box 597.

PROGRESSIVE JOB on T.T. dairy farm offered to couple willing assist in building up modern farm. Cottage available. Semi-community basis. Box 601.

DOMESTIC WORKERS (2), kitchen and house. Boys' Residential School, Hostel, Peebleshire. At once. 25s. weekly with board, lodging, laundry. Apply Warden, Barns House, Manor, Peebles.

C.O.s WITH forestry exemption wanted for forestry work nr. Shrewsbury. Good working conditions. Further particulars, Box 602.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

C.O., QUALIFIED Bank Clerk, wants spare time work, book-keeping, preparation of accounts, Income-Tax returns, or secretarial work. Box 586.

C.O., 35, South Manchester, requires situation. 11 years as insurance agent. Box 598.

C.O., 20, public school, 2 yrs. land (mainly m.k.-gardening), drive, type, some clerical knowledge, strong, adaptable, seeks position with prospects combining mental and land work; school possibly? Could take some games, subjects. Box 559.

C.O., 24, MARRIED, 4½ years' general farming experience, wants farm or market-garden work. (Preferably where I.C.I. not used.) Box 603.

C.O., SINGLE, 34, joiner; land exemp., live in, willing learn milk deliv. or other work. Box 604.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST (26), single, seeks work with market-gardener engaged in glasshouse production. Glos., Wilts., Hants, Dorset, Oxfordshire or Berkshire. Box 605.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

NATURE-CURE TREATMENT of disease (including eyes). Reginald J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. (Ex-Maidstone C.O.) Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

Britain's duty to Poland

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

to the plausible but unfounded suggestion that the Russians were deliberately holding back, after encouraging them to rise.

"From this point the attitude of the Polish insurgents in Warsaw became openly intransigent, culminating in recent broadcasts which referred contemptuously to 'the so-called Curzon line' and announcing their intention of fighting to the last man for 'Polish Vilna' and 'Polish Lvov'. The Russians for their part began to denounce the insurgents as traitors who would be subject to arrest when their armies entered Warsaw."

The Times goes on to say:

"It is difficult not to understand the Russian reluctance to facilitate the supply of arms to men who are at the same moment proclaiming purposes plainly inconsistent with a friendly attitude towards Russia."

British pledges ignored

LET us remember the facts. The Times cannot have forgotten. Vilna and Lvov were an integral part of pre-war Poland. When in 1939 Britain undertook to defend the territorial integrity of Poland, she undertook to restore Vilna and Lvov to Poland. For the Times to impute it as a crime to the Polish insurgents in Warsaw that they claim Vilna and Lvov, and to imply that by doing so they justify Russia in refusing to permit Britain and USA to give the Poles in Warsaw the succour they so desperately need is a moral turpitude.

I am not saying that the Polish claim to Vilna is better than the claim of the Lithuanians; (Russia has no valid claim at all). The point is that Britain has solemnly guaranteed the territorial integrity of Poland as it existed in 1939. Any territorial adjustments should be freely negotiated. Our one plain obligation is to support Poland to the utmost in her rightful demand that the negotiations should be free.

Sosnkowski's Outburst

IT is asking too much to ask Poles to be diplomatic about Warsaw. Gen. Sosnkowski has blotted his copy-book by describing Warsaw as "a ghastly and tragic riddle," and dismissed the Russian excuse that technical reasons forbid effective help (News Chronicle, Sep. 5).

Since he is tactful enough not to mention the Russians by name, but speaks only of the Allies, his sorrowful indignation is twisted into an attack on Britain and USA. They have at least done what they could, and they have recognized the legitimacy of the Warsaw resistance army, and thus countered the shameful Russian threat to arrest and court-martial them.

Russia Today (Sep. 2) has no compunction in speaking of the Warsaw rising as "a treacherous plot." It may seem to Stalin a little thing that a brave nation should be crucified yet again to serve his policy. Nevertheless, Russia will regret it. Tout se paie: even the syconchancy of British journalism.

"Cant"

WHAT is cant? "We can say without cant that the re-absorption of the Baltic States (seized from Russia during the last war) does not seem to us to violate any important principle" (Editor, New Statesman, Sep. 2).

Will he say, without cant, that the re-absorption of Eire (seized from Great Britain shortly after the last war) would not seem to him to violate any important principle? If not, why not?

LEONARD BIRD

To the Editor

In 1937 no-one in our group knew where Dalmeny Avenue was, and so it never got into a sub-group, and so Leonard Bird, who lived there, had a year's rest from PPU activity. But early in 1938 a bright postman must have discovered Dalmeny Avenue on his rounds, and Leonard has never had a rest since; and neither have I!

Hence there has always been at least one person in our group who wouldn't count to give a hand with a job; always one who had ideas when everything else looked blank. During his too frequent "holidays" I realized what a hole he filled, and now he's gone over the mountains to worry them in Manchester, North-West Area will soon benefit from our loss. In saying this I am not unkind of the service which others have also given, but I am sure that Huddersfield Group as a whole and his many friends throughout Yorkshire will join me in this tribute to a stout heart and a jolly good fellow. As a loyal servant of our cause Leonard Bird has few equals.

GEORGE TATTERSALL
Sec. for Huddersfield Group
and Yorkshire Area.

19 John William St., Huddersfield.

But where are the candidates?

The Nobel Peace Prizes are to be awarded this year for the first time since 1939, according to the Swedish newspaper "Dagens Nyheter," quoted by German radio on Monday.

A C.O. RECEIVES THE MILITARY MEDAL

Geoffrey Brown, of West Norwood, who registered as a CO and was given non-combatant duties, went into the NCC but, still retaining his non-combatant status, he volunteered for a bomb-disposal unit of the Royal Engineers, and later for a paratroop unit of the RAMC. He was dropped over Normandy at the start of the invasion, and he has now been awarded the Military Medal for his service.

His Commanding Officer has written to Geoffrey Brown's young wife:

"I am glad that your husband has received the Military Medal. He probably has been rather modest about it, so may I at once tell you that he very thoroughly deserves this decoration."

"A number of men undoubtedly owe their lives to his excellent work on the dropping zone. Geoffrey calmly brought in wounded men, with mortar shells and snipers' bullets constantly threatening his safety."

"Unless this had been done promptly and efficiently several men would have been left lying badly wounded between us and the Germans."

"All the medical section did very well, but Geoffrey was outstanding. He always has worked well and I am very grateful that he should be wounded."

Geoffrey Brown was wounded in the thigh by shrapnel two days after the invasion started, and was brought back to England. He is now on sick leave with his wife in Cornwall.

What the P.P.U. stands for

If, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the Peace Pledge Union, write for information to: The General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the PPU: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If you decide that you cannot support this or any other war, it will encourage others and may be helpful to yourself if you join the Union.

The Union stands for the rejection of war, for the method of seeking to overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.

Tributes to Dorothy Evans

From Sybil Morrison

DOROTHY EVANS is best known and will always be remembered for her work in connexion with the feminist movement, not only in this country but in the USA and at Geneva.

She was essentially an internationalist, and was also a pacifist of very long standing. As a young woman in the last war she refused to register for rations and she never faltered in her stand against war. She believed it to be the most irrational and hopeless way of dealing with disputes, and she was above all a rational person.

She had no belief in pledges and therefore only joined the PPU after much heart-searching, and eventually because she felt that here was a movement of young people prepared to work for the thing she profoundly believed to be the bedrock of all forward movement—the elimination of war.

She wanted always to see young people in the foreground; she never asked for personal reward or sought for recognition for herself. She resigned from the PPU National Council when she believed she ought to make way for younger women.

She was a propagandist and a fighter. What others call a "conscience" she called "the hand on the scruff of the neck." Something that compelled you to go forward. Her pacifism was a reality. She was not religious but she always looked for the good in people and followed that good.

Gardening was her relaxation and her joy; she rejoiced in producing the fruits of the earth. Her life was a life of usefulness, and that usefulness continued into death for she bequeathed her body to a medical faculty for the purpose of research.

For herself there can be no regrets; a long illness would have been unthinkable for Dorothy Evans. The day before she was taken ill she had spoken at a splendid meeting in Glasgow and was in her most vital and eagerly campaigning mood. She was full of plans for the future of her work and went out with her powers and her faculties unimpaired, triumphant and unafraid.

Those of us who now face the empty years without her must carry on her work.

CAPT. DOUGLAS-HOME ASKS TO RESIGN COMMISSION

"NO STOMACH FOR A WAR OF ANNIHILATION"

CAPTAIN the Hon. William Douglas-Home, serving on the Continent with the Royal Armoured Corps, has asked permission of his Commanding Officer to resign his commission, as he does not feel justified "in asking men to do battle for motives which our leaders will not publicize and which I do not, therefore, trust."

In a letter to Peace News (Mar. 17) he announced that he was considering resignation. The following month he unsuccessfully contested the Clay Cross (Derbyshire) by-election as "Atlantic Charter" candidate.

The news of his latest step is given in a letter to the Maidenhead Advertiser (Aug. 30), sent from Normandy. In it, Capt. Douglas-Home writes:

"It seems that the Allied statesmen intend to win a victory by force alone. Their alleged desire is to teach the Germans that force does not pay. In fact, their action will merely teach the Germans that force, when backed by unlimited resources, pays hand over fist."

"A peace imposed by force alone will be an uneasy short-lived peace."

"I maintain that commonsense, statesmanship and Christianity alike demand the pro-

NEW LIGHT ON CONDITIONS IN FORT DARLAND

Extracts from a letter from a prisoner in Fort Darland detention camp—where Private Clayton died in circumstances which led to an inquiry into conditions in military prisons—suggest that although open brutality has now been "soft pedalled," conditions are still bad.

The letter was from Driver J. Williams, who is serving a four months' sentence. Lengthy extracts have been circulated to 16 Labour MPs by his wife, Mrs. Sheila Williams, 19 Quinton Parade, Cheylesmore, Coventry.

"Apart from this letter from my husband," Mrs. Williams told Peace News, "I have received three other letters from soldiers who have come out of detention, confirming my husband's statement."

Driver Williams is now in solitary confinement isolated from other prisoners.

duction of peace terms NOW. If our leaders' terms are just, where is the danger in producing them? If they are not just, why should men die to impose them on the enemy?"

"So strongly do I, and incidentally many officers and men in the forces, feel about this matter, that I have seen no alternative but to ask my Commanding Officer for permission to resign my commission."

"I have no stomach for a war of annihilation."

Referring to his unsuccessful attempts to enter Parliament Capt. Douglas-Home writes:

"My conception was, and is, that in my small way, I had a mission to fulfil—namely, to demand on behalf of the younger generation a just and honest peace."

WHAT WE HAVE FOUND IN BELGIUM

"Not starvation, but . . ."

"BELGIUM suffers today not from starvation, but from prolonged under-nourishment—in some parts, 80 per cent. of the children are estimated to be tuberculous or near-tuberculous on this account." (The Observer, Sep. 3).

Commenting on the food situation in Belgium, The Economist (Sep. 2) reports a deterioration since the end of April.

According to The Observer, the Belgian Government has "requested the military authorities for supplies to bring the rations at least up to existing levels during the immediate emergency," basing the request upon a 30-day period. Whether the war situation will permit this remains to be seen, even though in Paris the provision of adequate transport for food supplies "has been given precedence even over military operations." (Manchester Guardian, Sep. 1.) This report speaks of deliveries of 1,000 tons of food a day to Paris, "some of it flown by air transports."

PLIGHT OF PARIS

As yet it is impossible to judge the adequacy of the measures taken in France. The reports appearing here give the impression that little hunger is noticeable in Paris. Certainly the effects of prolonged malnutrition would not be immediately observed, and the circumstantial evidence within many of the stories, referring as they do to food acquired on the black market, suggests that reporters have confined their stories, if not their contacts, to the wealthier sections of the people.

What is probably a truer picture was painted by S. L. Solon in the News Chronicle (Aug. 29): "... it is difficult to believe that Paris is hungry—although it is. People . . . have been eating very little. For there is no food in Paris . . . For days Paris has subsisted on excitement. And the excitement which has coloured the cheeks of the children and brightened the eyes of everybody has been almost a substitute for food. But from now on food becomes the most urgent problem here. Even the diet of beans—purchased on the black market for 3s. 6d. a pound—is running out."

"There is no meat, no milk, no butter. Almost nothing. The little food available on the black market is selling for exorbitant prices. The situation in the working-class quarters is absolutely dire. There has been no milk for the children for many days . . ."

It is therefore welcome news that "the Argentine Government (has) placed at the disposal of the French authorities 100,000 tons of wheat and 5,000 tons of meat as a gift to help to alleviate the food shortage in France." (Times, Aug. 26.) No plea of policy or of shipping shortage must be allowed to prevent these supplies from reaching the people who need them.

Out already: Order now!

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